Sin, slave status, and the "city," Zanzibar, 1865-c.1930

Abstract
The Universities' Mission to Central Africa (UMCA) missionaries equated urbanity with moral contagion, to which those with slave status were especially vulnerable. To the ex-slaves who came into contact with the mission, the growing commercial centre of Zanzibar, and the coastal cultures it was associated with, were not only enticing, but crucial to social and economic mobility. The mission's ex-slaves did not enjoy a special advantage though their connection to missionaries. Even for the missionaries' most treasured dependents, the advantages were ambiguous. However, the mission did facilitate the making of strong cohorts and ease the transition to living in the town.

Keywords: urban history; post-slavery; Christian missions; slavery; social history; Zanzibar

Introduction
In 1901 in Kiungani Boys' School, Zanzibar, on Christmas Eve at 9pm the missionary Frank Weston,[1] had a memorable interview with one of his ex-slave students, whose spiritual preparations he was supervising. This student had been under Weston's guidance for eighteen months, reputedly progressing and flourishing in his studies to become a teacher. Weston was, therefore, horrified to hear his student admit that he had "fallen again" to "the sin of Sodom." He immediately coordinated a man-hunt for the other guilty party. Weston narrated the events of the evening as follows:

> There was I until 11.30pm trying to get this second boy to confess, and then both to repent. […] [T]he repentance of the first boy was beautiful. He told me all I asked without a lie, accepted a flogging which hurt him very much, and prayed with me afterwards for a long time. The tears that he shed when we spoke and prayed were more than he shed over his own whipping, which was severe. That was a compensation.[2]

Weston despaired for his students, lamenting how he felt the need to monitor their sexual conduct so closely. The significance of this anecdote to this article is not in the existence of homosexuality in mission schools, but in the way Weston explains its existence. He was convinced that homosexual tendencies were the result of the combined influence of city-life and slavery. Weston claimed that: "It is not a mainland sin, it belongs to this sink of sin – Zanzibar. And my particular boys are nearly all the city type." [3] This moral contagion largely revolved around carnal sins, and alcohol abuse but also included the more nebulous sin of arrogance. The notion that all that was urban was detrimental to Christian respectability must have been difficult to accept for the UMCA's ex-slaves, given that the "city" was the setting in which social mobility was most likely to take place. Missionaries distrusted and condemned the ex-slaves' tendency to be drawn into Zanzibar town. This anecdote neatly encapsulates the struggles that all Christian converts were likely to face in toeing the line between vastly different missionary and non-missionary values.

These struggles were especially weighty for the ex-slave contingent of the UMCA. The mission's involvement with ex-slaves in Zanzibar began in 1865 when the Sultan gave Bishop Tozer a gift of five slave children, whom Tozer promptly proclaimed "free," though they remained under his patronage.[4] Over the next three decades, British navy patrols

concentrated their efforts on policing the slave trade. Most of the slaves from these raids were taken to the British consulate in Zanzibar, where they would be distributed between mission, government, and the sultan's ex-slave settlements. Needless to say, the legal freedom of these slaves had a limited impact upon slave status. In addition to this influx of confiscated ex-slaves, mistreated slaves occasionally sought self-emancipation. They increasingly looked to the mission when they sought to escape despotic masters. However, the missionaries were highly cautious about ransoming runaway slaves, not wanting to be implicated in debates about the legal ownership of slaves.[5] In this way, the UMCA's ex-slave settlement contrasts starkly to those of the CMS in Rabai and the Holy Ghost in Bagamoyo, which controversially welcomed runaway slaves.[6]

There is a wealth of literature detailing the processes that took place between being free of slave labour and being "free" in this region and elsewhere. There was a myriad of different categories of slaves, all taking on different processes of socialisation.[7] It took ingenuity, good fortune, and – most of all – time, to move on from one's slave status. In the Zanzibar context this is exemplified by the Swahili term "wazalia", meaning "born here," which denoted superior social status.[8] Indeed, claims to indigeneity and first-comer status were of fundamental importance to the upwardly mobile (ex)-slave.

The missionaries' initial optimism about emancipating slaves through religion was short-lived, as Weston's anecdote suggests. Missionaries believed ex-slaves were "bad material" for conversion and that academic education was wasted on most ex-slaves. Thus, they relegated them to the rural "industrial schools," which operated much like "infirmaries."[9] Thus, the term "industrial student" became a euphemism for slave status. [10] Missionaries believed that ex-slaves were predisposed to immoral behaviour and that this immorality was contagious.[11] Thus, the term "slave status" is used in this article to reflect the social stigma of being a slave, even when the individual in question was not a slave according to legal definitions.

By the time in which the opening anecdote is set, 1901, the practice of slavery was coming to an end. Concomitantly, slave status was increasingly difficult to identify, yet no less loathsome. In fact, slave status persisted long after the practice of slavery ended. [12] As the 1931 account of the British Colonial Administrator, Harold Ingrams, tells us, "many of the ex-slaves still live on their former owners' plantations and refer to themselves as slaves, and are often proud of their title."[13] The fact that slave status was still so important by the 1930s partially explains the end date mentioned in the article's title. Another reason for setting this as the end point is that it draws on oral history research that focuses on the lives of the parents of very elderly Anglicans in Zanzibar, all of whom were descended from the mission's ex-slaves. It is problematic to date this generation precisely, but most of what they were able to comment upon went back only as far back as the 1920s.

An enormous literature exploring how slaves went about negotiating their slave status in various contexts informs the historical approach of this article. A thread that runs through this body of historical and anthropological thought is that the dependence that slavery engendered was not the worst thing about the state of being a slave. In fact, dependence on a patron was usually a necessary facet of the strategies slaves exploited to better their situations and eventually stop being a slave. Suzanne Miers and Igor Kopytoff's emblematic thesis of 1977 argues that, at times, slaves in Africa saw total autonomy as impractical. Social

belonging in their new societies was more important and autonomy did not necessarily help a slave achieve this. [14] Similar observations were made in the nineteenth century. For instance, in 1873 a British observer in Zanzibar made the point that remaining a slave could potentially reap greater rewards due to the security afforded by the patron-client dynamic.[15]

Still, recently, scholars, such as Benedetta Rossi, have been at pains to emphasise that, while this may be true, it does not follow that slaves were complacent or unambitious, as colonial accounts might suggest.[16] Moreover, slaves did not indiscriminately accept forms of belonging, as Jonathon Glassman's research on Zanzibar demonstrates. He argues that people with slave status could be particular about the kinds of social belonging they sought out and they would define, or negotiate, the terms of their belonging. Moreover, freedom (*uhuru*) was not a realistic state of being. Instead, different types of dependence or "bonds" could be sought to redefine the relationship between master and slave. These were usually out of sync with the social values of the master class.[17] This article is in full support of Glassman's careful mapping of the various paths slaves took in search of a better life. I intend to contribute to his rich account of how those with slave status went about their struggle in the public sphere. This case study does not undermine Glassman's thesis, but rather adds to it to suggest how the more organised and the more controlled (by European agents and the Sultan's) the spaces of Zanzibar were, the most likely this integration would be difficult.

Turning towards mission history, scholars are rarely under any illusions about the capacity of missionaries as individuals and missions as institutions to emancipate slaves, particularly since the wave of the nationalist Africanist literature of the 1950s and 1960s. For instance, in 1965 Roland Oliver illustrated missionary involvement with ex-slave settlements as a well-meaning but ultimately misguided policy that unintentionally stimulated the slave trade.[18] The case has also been made that, not only were missions unhelpful to "ex-slaves", they were also the reason for the decline of mission Christianity and the movement towards independent churches. This is precisely what David Maxwell found in his Central African research, which showed that, in practice, the mission's objective to instil humility sat uncomfortably with their aim to emancipate slaves, which necessarily required a boost in social status. Thus, many ex-slaves looked to independent churches or "traditional" leadership to attain respectability.[19] Paul Kollman, who worked on the Holy Ghost mission, put forward a similar argument. However, he also sought to defend the missionaries' commitment to the ex-slave settlement, which came under critique by observers of the 1970s and 1990s, who deemed the missionaries' commitment nonsensical.[20]

What all these accounts have in common is the observation that it could be, at worst, socially detrimental, and, at best, unhelpful, to associate with missions and their slave-refugee populations.[21] Similar findings emerged from research directly on the UMCA's ex-slaves in Zanzibar. Jeremy Prestholdt has touched on Bishop Tozer's very early involvement with ex-slaves, arguing that the mission (in addition to British officials, such as John Kirk) provided very limited scope for ex-slaves' desire to "define their own place in the social order, to represent their own political and social interests."[22] This certainly explains why UMCA ex-slaves' life trajectories often appear indistinguishable from those who had no mission affiliation. Indeed, it is argued here that the problem was not dependence, but the kind of dependence the missionaries offered to the majority of the mission's ex-slaves.

Still, questions about the actual relationships, successful and unsuccessful, between ex-slaves and missionaries remain unanswered. In fact, the absence of these relationships and their superficiality is also noteworthy. More importantly, there is a lack of clarity about how networks amongst ex-slaves themselves operated. As Glassman has shown, webs of networks went beyond the slave-master relationship.[23] Thus, this article sets out some of the ways in which slave status was negotiated horizontally as well as vertically in terms of social hierarchies. In this article I focus on two trajectories UMCA ex-slaves took, which were not mutually exclusive. The first trajectory was the most common: to move to the town and find new patrons, which usually meant desisting Christian practices and mission allegiance. The second trajectory was orientated towards gaining an academic education and mission employment as a teacher or priest. These individuals were highly respected for their educational achievements, particularly by the 1920s. However, their slave status was also sealed because being Christian in Zanzibar, to this day, labelled you as an ex-slave antecedent by default. Before we begin, I will set out the way the mission was geographically organised and how proximity to the town was associated with sin and slave status.

Mapping sin and slave status

Thinking about space can deepen our understanding of how slave status was perceived and dealt with from multiple perspectives. The opening anecdote of this article provided us with two spatial binary oppositions to explain how the temptation to sin had a certain geography: island and mainland; urban and rural. Slave status was inextricably woven into this spatial mapping, largely because, throughout the period, ex-slaves flocked to Zanzibar's urban centre, or rather, its edge, at Ng'ambo. "Ng'ambo" literally means "the other side," because it was on the other side of the tidal inlet that separated it from the prosperous town. Though the boundaries of Ng'ambo were physically more obvious prior to British imperialism, by virtue of the tidal inlet that the British later filled in with waste, it only emerged as a clearly defined residential area when Zanzibar became a British protectorate. [24] From this point Ng'ambo had a gravitational pull for various socially marginal people, including the mission's ex-slaves. It came to be known in the first decades of the twentieth century as a quickly growing "working class quarter."[25] Missionaries were no different to Africans in that slave status had deeply negative connotations, but they thought this way for different reasons.[26] They did not share the same outlook on the social significance of space as the missionaries' geography of respectability conflicted with the Swahili geography of "civilization." For most Africans, the town was the way out of slave status and negative associations with the mainland as *washenzi* ("barbarians" or "primitive"). [27]

Of course, at variance with Zanzibar's patricians, the missionaries' prejudice towards ex-slaves did not, at least on the surface, lie in a prejudice towards manual labour. The fraught exchanges between missionaries and ex-slaves demonstrate that, at least for missionaries, the "taint" of slavery lingered long after a slave's legal emancipation and residence at the mission. However, there was more to this "taint" than the perception of an indelible mark on the individual. Missionaries considered ex-slaves particularly poorly-equipped to deal with the "temptations" of city life because of their lack of community self-regulation that kinship and "tribal" belonging afforded. [28] For example, Weston reasoned that, "tribal custom inspires a fine for fornication and for adultery […] in Zanzibar such customs are not observed much. Tribes are nowhere."[29] Equally, missionaries believed that

the mixing of ethnicities in urban environments had negative repercussions. For instance, Cyril C. Frewer, a UMCA missionary, argued Zanzibar presented Christians with "numberless sin-traps" because it contained "the dregs of all nations."[30]

Conforming to Muslim or non-Christian cultures was part, but now wholly, the "sin". The sin the missionaries were referring to was predominantly sexual. Thus, missionaries blamed the influence of the city for the extra-marital affairs of Rev. Samuel Chiponde and Rev. Cecil Majaliwa, who were ex-slaves and purportedly under the impression that the missionaries were turning a blind eye to it.[31] In 1880 Edward Steere wrote to a British admiral who had, in previous face-to-face conversation favourably contrasted Zanzibar, where there were no prostitutes in sight, to London, where prostitutes walked the streets. Preferring to discuss these issues by pen, Steere decided to write to him and correct his thoughts. The letter exemplifies how the missionaries fused together all that was sinful, Muslim, and urban:

> Mohammedanism deliberately sanctions a much worse state of things. The streets are empty of prostitutes because the homes are full of them and there is no scandal because there is no shame.[32]

For Steere, the problem with Islam was partly that it thrived in the urban and ethnically mixed social context of Zanzibar in which the people, most of whom were relative newcomers, were estranged from their origins. Nonetheless, it is possible that African Christians appeared to sin more often in Zanzibar than in Magila because of the intensity of its social surveillance that is so characteristic – then and now – of Zanzibar's social scene.

Missionaries and colonial agents shared an interest in keeping certain categories of Africans out of town, though they followed a different rationale. Colonial officials packaged the policies to restrict access into the town as efforts to reduce disease, though their outlook was undoubtedly shaped by social and racial prejudice certainly informed their actions. Ng'ambo, with its enormous population but lack of stone, was legally defined against "town" as a "native location". So while missionaries sought to limit the urban influences on their converts, British colonial agents were simultaneously endeavouring to minimise Africans' access to the town proper, which was visually, and, later, legally, defined by its stone buildings. In the 1920s colonial law prohibited "huts" being built in the "town", apparently as part of the effort to reduce the spread of disease. There were "native huts" erected in Mkunazini and elsewhere, but they were increasingly fewer in number. [33]

Colonial quarantine policies, bolstered by building regulations, made it near impossible for Africans to live in the "town," as William Bissell and Laura Fair have shown, regardless of whether you were Christian or Muslim. [34] In a way this became less significant over time as Ng'ambo became, by 1930, part of the social life of the town, partly as a result of its greater population. By 1931 it held around 22,000 people (a quarter of the whole island's population).[35] In sum, both missionaries and colonial administrators shared the concern that "contagion" should be limited, yet they defined it differently and had differing opinions about the source of it and how best to manage it.

Evidently, missionaries had concerns about moral contagion, which is illustrated in the way they designed the spread of their mission stations. Missionaries attempted, but continually failed, to establish a mission station in Ng'ambo. [36] This was partly because

parents did not trust missionaries with their children as they suspected they were slave dealers. However, the missionaries' difficulties in Ng'ambo continued long after it was clear that missionaries were not slave dealers or cannibals.[37] Indeed, their lack of success reflects how hostile the area was to Christian teaching. The result was that they lost Christian converts there than they won.[38] The mission had a more lasting hold at the Mkunazini mission station. This was at the edge of the town proper. It contained a boarding house for apprentices, a hospital, a cathedral and a "home" for women who were widows, divorcees and ex-prostitutes. It also contained a compact residential area containing a small Christian population, which missionaries referred to as a quarter, or, rather whimsically, as "Cathedral Close." It consisted of three rows of houses. The inhabitants tended to be skilled workers, such as boat builders, "door-boys," cooks and printers, who were more often than not married to "Mbweni girls".[39]

"Mbweni girls" were ex-slave girls who were educated and housed at the Mbweni mission station, approximately four and a half miles from the town. The Mbweni girls' school, established in 1877, was adjacent to the shamba but it was socially almost entirely separate from it. As testament to the uneven way social status was spread in the mission communities, the "Mbweni girls" looked upon the shamba people as lower status, referring to them simply as "slaves."[40] Initially, it housed and educated female ex-slave children, adolescents, and, increasingly, the children of these ex-slaves. Only a handful of local parents who were disconnected from the mission were willing to send their children to this school because they feared the missionaries would steal or harm their children.[41]

Mbweni was also the site of a "*shamba*" (farm), which was established in the 1870s as a ex-slave settlement. Despite a resolution in the synod of 1884 to refuse any more adult ex-slaves from the consulate, [42] the shamba only came to an end when the mission sold the land in several stages in the 1920s, slowly disengaging from the elderly and infirm "stragglers" who remained.[43] The settlement had a plantation of approximately 130 acres with a fluctuating population of about 500 ex-slaves. They were paid daily wages and expected to work for the mission, although they had a grace period in which to recover immediately after their capture as many initially suffered very poor health on arrival. They were technically free to leave if they chose to but strongly discouraged against it. Those who left the shamba without informing the missionaries were referred to as "runaways." These ex-slaves were expected to attend church services, be self-sufficient and self-supporting in return for their use of the land. [44]

Though it is not the intention here to determine the "genuine" spread of Christianity in this area, it is clear that the shamba could not be accurately described as a Christian settlement, at least in the early period. From 1878 to 1881 only seventy individuals were baptised, whereas roughly 100 new ex-slaves were taken in each year.[45] The missionaries were publicly embarrassed by the goings-on in the shamba. Though relatively far from the town, it was the site of drinking, debauchery, and prostitution.[46] Missionaries enforced discipline, making use of a purpose-built "parish prison" when it was considered necessary.[47] The Europeans of the town had a very low opinion of the shamba people, forbidding their servants from visiting it for fear they, too, would be morally contaminated.[48] They construed the sinful behaviour in the shamba as a consequence of their proximity to the town and part of a misguided attempt by its inhabitants to participate in urban life. This shows that, as far as

the missionaries saw it, you did not have to live in the city in order to be a victim of its sinfulness, such was the potency of urban moral contagion.

Kiungani boys' school, established in 1866, was situated about two miles from the town. In Swahili, the word, "Kiungani" translates as "in the suburbs". The idea was that they were close enough to the town to become accustomed to it and learn how to resist its temptations, but far enough to be free of it on an everyday basis.[49] Much like the girls' school, Kiungani students were, initially, ex-slaves and missionaries struggled to gain freeborn students from Zanzibar. However, unlike the girls' school, the children of ex-slaves were much less likely over time to send their male children to this school because it had more stringent admissions policies designed to avoid children with slave status. The school was intended from Bishop Steere's episcopate (1872-1883) onwards to be a filled with "free" or "voluntary" children from mainland stations.[50] Missionaries preferred "voluntary" students from the mainland who had something (i.e. familial relations) to sacrifice. [51] In contrast, it was the missionaries' belief that the ex-slaves had nothing to lose and, equally, no better option than to stay in the mission. [52] Another perceived problem was that the school contained students from too many backgrounds: apprentices, "the young men about town sort", "boys fresh from slave dhows", "boys" from Mbweni Shamba, and finally, "boys" from mainland schools. [53]

From 1903, as a result of the growing influence of the town on mission life, the UMCA attempted to purge its ex-slave dependents from the Zanzibar mission stations. Thus, many were out-posted to the "dumping ground" of the rural island of Pemba. [54] The ex-slaves selected for this exodus were the ones the missionaries identified as being most troublesome: the adult ex-slaves of the shamba, the apprentices from Mkunazini, and the industrial students (from both Mbweni and Kiungani schools).[55] In theory, but certainly not in practice, only the academic ex-slave students, male and female, remained in Zanzibar, often isolated from their own families who had been relocated to Pemba. [56] A key outcome was that ex-slaves were provided with more opportunities to go to Pemba for clove harvesting seasons for a few months at a time. Few made it a permanent move.[57] Again, this highlights how the missionaries' primary strategy was to keep the mixing of people to a minimum in order to manage the influence of urban life. However, the fact that missionaries' dissatisfaction with the Pemba ex-slaves continued made them come to the conclusion that the ex-slaves' condition of being alienated from the mainland was irreversible. In other words, the missionaries eventually came to see rural life as a treatment, but not a cure, for the ex-slaves estrangement from their roots.

"*Wajoli*" and the town

We have now mapped out the geography of the mission stations according to the missionaries' strategies to limit the moral contagion that was said to have resulted from proximity to the town and disconnectedness from mainland "roots". Let us now turn to examine how, in spite of missionaries' ideas about urban moral contagion, most mission ex-slaves moved to, or hoped to move to, Ng'ambo. These ex-slaves tellingly referred to themselves as "wajoli," or, "fellow servants."[58] I first set out the push factors, explaining that the mission offered very limited opportunities for ex-slaves. I then demonstrate the pull factors and explore the nature of mission ex-slaves' integration into the town. Unfortunately, this section is only nominally informed by the oral history record. However, the reasons

behind this are in themselves rather informative. My interviews were almost exclusively with Anglicans, who were born of the elite minority of the mission community. Not for want of trying, I was unable to find non-Christian interlocutors of the right age range. Most of the mission's ex-slave converts did not remain Christians in the twentieth century. Aside from the small number of mission teachers, priests and their families, the Mbweni shamba's population consisted of elderly, unwanted, and maimed ex-slaves who had run out of options. These older converts were, more often than not, childless, and so hardly contributed to the making of a younger generation of Christians.[59]

All those who had the means, whether they were Christian or not, moved to Ng'ambo. My interviews with Zanzibari Anglicans, all of whom had slave ancestry, suggested that Mbweni was considered too rural and devoid of economic opportunity, especially when the missionaries left in the 1920s. The social status of these areas has to some extent reversed in recent decades, particularly since the Karume family established their estate there on mission land.[60] This is somewhat reflected in the fact that the most well-to-do interlocutors I interviewed resided in comfortable homes in the Mbweni district. However, it was not just that the town was attractive; Mbweni shamba was unattractive. The dependence the missionaries offered was of limited value. The missionaries employed ex-slaves as day labourers, *vibarua* in Swahili. [61] The ex-slaves received fair wages but this type of work was lower-status than being a slave because it was devoid of ongoing commitment between labourer and hirer. In contrast, being a slave implied the existence of mutual obligations to employees regarding social entitlements.[62]

There was a significant amount of interest among ex-slaves to venture to the mainland, joining caravans as porters or work on ships, which also reflected how travel could offer opportunities to gain respectability in new places, partly through being anonymous and transient.[63] Some chose to hire themselves out as porters but they would refuse to work for non-Europeans because, as one missionary put it, "A man of ours loses caste if he serves under anyone else."[64] Similarly, another missionary noted that porters accepted a wage of four Maria Theresa Dollars per month instead of the usual five, because they had a reputation for fair treatment and regular pay.[65] Thus, European employers appear to have offered better working conditions and probably also the opportunity to carry additional items to trade on the journey for profit. So missionaries might not have been excellent employers of agricultural labour, but being a porter for a missionary certainly had its advantages.

John Mhina, a mainland Christian, expressed a general sentiment that ran through my oral history research. He argued that the shamba ex-slaves lacked a livelihood, or, "*njia ya kuishi*", literally meaning "way of living", unless they relied on Arabs. He reasoned further that this is why the missionaries tried to offer the ex-slaves livelihoods. However, due to their limited means, many ex-slaves turned instead to Arab patrons. The fact that Mhina believed the missionaries were, strictly speaking, able to offer ex-slaves labour suggests that "njia ya kuishi" held a deeper meaning based on preferred types of dependence. [66] In short, the dependence that missionaries offered at the shamba was broadly rejected in favour of dependence on patrons in the town.

In Zanzibar wealth lay in the town in trades and services; not in the country with agriculture and manual labour. Living on the mission shamba meant being an agricultural labourer. Missionaries were keenly wedded to establishing agricultural practice rather than

teaching trades, which prompted some resistance on the part of the "industrial students." A missionary who was a leading advocate of this policy, Cyril Frewer, tried to convince these ex-slaves they could make a good living outside of the town and that agriculture was respectable work:

> [T]he young African in these parts cordially dislikes taking hold of a hoe. It is to the mind of the rising generation the tool of the slave, the quite ignorant, and the aged and this is just as much the case with the heathen boys who live anywhere near a town, as with our Christian boys from Zanzibar schools who can read and write. [67]

Another connected push factor was that there was a shortage of potential brides for men on the shamba, on account of their low status. Young ex-slave men commonly complained about this. Equally, female missionaries guarded their students' virtue very carefully, and only allowed "Mbweni girls" to marry Zanzibar Christians who had a trade or profession, or were, better still, teachers or priests. Educated mainland suitors were considered the cream of the crop. Needless to say, the fact that missionaries were reluctant to marry their favourite converts to agricultural labourers undermined their promotion of agriculture among ex-slaves.[68]

Shamba people, like other ex-slaves associated with the mission, suffered a very poor reputation in the Muslim town, partly because the mission did not prepare the ex-slaves adequately for cultural assimilation.[69] For instance, staying on the shamba made it harder to learn Swahili. Speaking it poorly, as many of the ex-slaves on the shamba did, was an enormous disadvantage.[70] This drew attention to the fact that they had so recently come from the rural mainland. A British physician, named James Christie, illustrates this point in his 1876 account:

> The town negroes look down upon their country cousins with a good deal of contempt, and consider themselves a superior class. [71]

The shamba ex-slaves from the mission seem to have suffered even more on account of their affiliation with the mission, which signalled the fact they were "fresher" slaves than those living in the town, who conferred more respect by virtue of establishing roots on the island.[72] The reputation of mission ex-slaves was also compromised by the increasing association made between the mission and the Nyamwezi. The Nyamwezi was an elusive social category relating to several "tribes," who had an especially poor reputation in the town, heightened by their visibly foreign appearance. [73] Later in the 1920s the shamba ex-slaves also came to have an unfortunate reputation as bad workers, bad Christians and bad citizens amongst Zanzibar's townspeople.

Urban life provided opportunities to overcome slave status, but this was not a simple process. Missionaries tried to broker this process on their own terms with their ex-slave apprenticing scheme. The mission sponsored some selected ex-slave young men to become apprentices in the town, on the condition that they slept at the mission at Mbweni and lived under its moral codes. This scheme failed, largely because the apprentice-masters treated them like slaves and did very little to train them. As a consequence of their lack of training, they were unable to compete with the artisans of the town and might as well enter the labour market through existing routes.[74]

The principal of Kiungani boys' school, Percy L. Jones-Bateman, produced a "census" in 1890 of his school leavers. He recorded that 140 out of 272 had left Kiungani and continued to live as Christians. Only thirty-one gave up Christianity and Jones-Bateman hastened to add that they had at least refused Islam. He based this conclusion on what African Christians, who kept in contact with these individuals, would tell them. While we must not accept Jones-Bateman's survey at face-value, it is noteworthy that for these ex-slave, ex-Christians, the maintenance of their connections to African Christians was considered essential. When these individuals went on journeys they would ensure they bid farewell to their "old Christian schoolfellows" who still lived with the mission. These "backsliders" who moved to Ng'ambo cut off their ties to the missionaries, while, tellingly, retaining their place in the mission's Christians' social network.[75] This demonstrates how people very rarely give up personal networks, even when they have moved on from them. It also suggests that connections to Christians were more valuable than connections to missionaries.

As explained in the first part of this article, if a mission ex-slave wanted to move to the town and be independent of the mission, they would have to move to Ng'ambo, rather than the town itself. Moreover, Ng'ambo was a diverse area and they could not settle just anywhere, especially if they wanted to remain Christian. Thus, they often settled in groups. Indeed, Christians tended to reside in Ng'ambo in clusters for protection and did not simply melt into society, though they probably wanted to. For instance, areas that were home to specific ethnic communities could be safer than living amongst a Muslim majority. There were also particular landlords and patrons who were considered more tolerant toward Christians. This explains the Christian contingent in Kwa Alinato, which remains today, and is named after Ali Nathoo, a leading landlord in this region who is still remembered for his generosity towards the poor and tolerance of Christians.[76]

Though living in Ng'ambo was desirable, it was not easy for a Christian to do so. Christian practices could make people undesirably conspicuous, particularly on Sundays when Christians were not supposed to drink, dance or work.[77] Missionaries endeavoured to make their Christian presence felt in the town, by orchestrating processions and public reading groups, in the style of the Muslims who read the Koran in public. This never really caught on, not because the Muslim population of the town believed it to be particularly antagonistic but, rather, it was due to the reluctance of ex-slaves to reveal their association with the mission. [78]

The memory of Christian's invisibility is presented in the oral history record. Zanzibar Anglicans claimed that, in those days, Muslims and Christians were visually indistinguishable from each other. Sylvester Tayari commented that, "*wakristo na waislamu kwa hiyo kuwatofautisha saa nyingine inakuwa vigumu*" ("Sometimes it was hard to say who was a Christian and who was a Muslim.")[79] The only time when it was possible to clearly distinguish between Muslims and Christians was just before Christians entered church, because women were not allowed to wear *buibui*[80] and men were not allowed to wear *kofia*.[81] Respondents differed in their opinion on why Christians decided to wear the same things as Muslims. Tayari believed it was simply out of habit, Teresa Mwakanjuki believed they wanted to please Muslims.[82] This goes hand in hand with another common – but convincing – claim by these respondents that Muslims and Christians at that time lived peacefully amongst each other. The retired Anglican bishop, John Ramadhani, suggested that it was at one point

controversial that the mission teachers and employees wore kanzu but that Zanzibar Christians did not object to wearing kanzu because of their Arabic connotations. It was, tellingly, the mainland Christians who objected to it.[83]

Thus, on the one hand, outward demonstration of Anglican faith signalled their slave status. On the other hand, Muslims criticised Christianity for being a "prayerless religion", on account of prayers being conducted relatively privately and quietly, and less frequently.[84] Zanzibar Christians were in an impossible situation. Muslims would refuse to eat with them, and women would refuse to marry them. [85] It is possible that missionary's accounts sensationalised their victimisation on the grounds of religious membership, but it is clear that ex-slaves from the mission underwent a great struggle in their attempts to integrate into town life.

"*Wenyeji*" and the mainland

Let us now consider the small group of ex-slaves who received an academic education and remained in mission employment as teachers or priests. These came to be referred to in the Zanzibar mission context as "*wenyeji*," (literally "natives") or *watumwa waliyekombolewa* ("released slaves") as opposed to "*waungwana*" (gentlemen or freemen).[86] The student who admitted to "sodomy" at the beginning of this article belonged to this group of "wenyeji." Indeed, these terms in themselves demonstrate how missionaries simultaneously discriminated against most ex-slaves for having slave status while grooming a small number of them to form part of the Anglican elite in Zanzibar. In this section I show how missionaries contrasted these ex-slaves to the mainland students they favoured. Though ex-slaves were largely isolated from the town, they were also negatively associated with it in the minds of missionaries and mainland Christians. I conclude by looking to the oral history of the descendants of these educated ex-slaves, and explore why they discuss their slave status more willingly than other Zanzibar inhabitants.

Missionaries increasingly deepened the division between "freeborn" and ex-slave, frequently complaining that the latter were bad "material." [87] For instance, the missionary Herbert Geldart argued that the schoolboys on the mainland were much better mannered than "Kiungani boys" because "they have never been demoralised as slaves."[88] Thus, social status was unevenly conferred among the students. Unsurprisingly, the ex-slave pupils struggled to come to terms with their lack of kin and belonging compared to the students who had come from the mainland:

> These lads here seem to realise bitterly how isolated they are in the world how the family tie exists for all but them, how all the other boys have a home and country and position of their own but they nothing of the kind. [89]

Indeed, missionaries observed that Kiungani was very "cliquey" as groups separated according to tribe and freeborn/slave status.[90] Missionaries facilitated the creation of cliques along tribal lines, even building separate playhouses for Nyasa and Bondei boys.[91] Still, they nevertheless recognised that tensions between students from different regions could threaten the peace. [92]

The oral history record corroborates the existence of these tensions. John Mhina, who boasts an established mainland Christian lineage, contended that the ex-slaves and their descendants were not considered to be truly "free." His father had told him that at Kiungani

mainland students enjoyed greater respectability than those born in Zanzibar.[93] The moral stigma surrounding Zanzibar Christians and their supposed lack of "roots" remains today. For example, an anonymous individual I interviewed criticized the retired Bishop John Ramadhani, a descendent of ex-slaves, for his controversial policies on almsgiving, putting it down to a lack of connection with the mainland and over-dependence on Europeans.[94]

Mainlanders did value coastal and urban connections and Zanzibar was clearly influential, as the proverb, "When you play the flute in Zanzibar, all Africa, as far as the lakes, dances," suggests.[95] But they had to be the right kind of coastal and urban connections. The mainland student was probably best placed to benefit from a brief sojourn in Zanzibar and return to their homes, bringing back tales of the great town. Missionaries worried that sending their best students to Zanzibar could risk exposing them to moral contagion. They complained that mainland students who had been educated in Kiungani returned with bigger egos and were "stuck up."[96] Sometimes missionaries accused Zanzibar of robbing their carefully nurtured students of their humility. "Swagger," was, to them, the embodiment of this sin.[97]

Other times they spoke about an increase in sexual immorality. The missionary Godfrey Dale insisted that, "it is my deliberate conviction that boys sent to Kiungani more often than not come back morally deteriorated" and "utterly degenerated." [98] It is significant that the same concerns of the missionaries were shared by students. According to a student who had gone to Kiungani, it was a bad place for a young man to learn due to the temptations of the town, combined with the hard moral tone in the school. The boy also reported, in Dale's words, that at Kiungani:

> Boys mock at religion altogether and that the whole place is insolent […] all round the place hover women of doubtful character and drink is got at by the boys at the Mbweni Shamba.[99]

Newala students (from southern mainland Tanzania) similarly claimed that, "When we left home, we loved our lord Jesus Christ but now we are always being tempted to do wrong." These nameless students had closely associated themselves with the missionaries, and Dale wondered if they were exaggerating how bad things had become in Kiungani, though he reasoned that the same opinions were backed up by other missionaries. The fact that Dale suspected the students were exaggerating implies that they saw an advantage in buying into the missionaries' concerns.

As has already been suggested, the educated ex-slaves' connection to urban life was of limited value in terms of contributing to their social status among their mainland peers and colleagues. Still, Zanzibar's ex-slave Christians were more likely to benefit from the emerging economic opportunities than mainland Christians. Even if the Zanzibar mission stations were isolated from surrounding communities, students at Kiungani were quite independent and capable of earning a living in the town:

> As to industrial work, it must be remembered that the boys are better able to teach us agriculture than we to teach them, they could any of them get a living at that at once, don't imagine that any of them are as helpless as English boys of eighteen or so without a trade.[100]

Even so, ex-slaves had to grapple with their slave status, which was connected to their lack of social membership to kinship systems. Again, mission affiliation was not necessarily helpful. For instance, it was not uncommon for some of the mission's highest achieving pupils to run away from the mission on account of being taunted by townspeople.[101]

The term for mission ex-slaves, "wenyeji" ("native"), had a bitter irony because they did not enjoy the benefits one might expect to reap from being a "native." They were isolated from the town, a problem that affected missionaries as well as the ex-slaves. Weston expressed these concerns in 1916:

> Zanzibar Christians are a very small, isolated body. They are shut off from the town population by the Cross, from fellow Christians – European and Goanese – by colour, and from us by social customs and education, or the want of it. They are ex-slaves and have no shame, such as mainland heathen feel at certain things. They depended on masters and early missionaries; and they do not easily acquire the independence that our present methods and growth require of them. Many of them accepted Baptism because they lived with us and owed us their daily bread.[102]

Herein lies the missionaries' struggle. Though they declared town influences as a moral threat to their converts, a central tenet of the UMCA was that integration was an essential strategy for furthering Christianity. Shutting their converts off from the opportunities the town offered was problematic because they believed that "genuine" conversion was impossible for individuals who simply had no other choice but to be mission dependents. This, disconcertingly for the missionaries, resembled slave-master relationships. Moreover, missionaries worried that ex-slaves, even those who had risen to the ranks of the ministry, were only outwardly following Christianity because they saw the missionaries as their masters, not because they had genuinely converted.

To some extent, the ex-slave students shared the missionaries' moral concern about the town's influence. The accounts Arthur C. Madan, a UMCA missionary, collected from the ex-slave boys at Kiungani demonstrate that they, too, believed that Zanzibar lacked the communalism of their mainland origins. For instance, a "Makua Boy" noted that the people from his homeland "do not eat as people do in Zanzibar, everyone at his own house." Instead, he explained that, "In every village there is a great tree, and by it a place for holding meetings. Each family goes out and takes its meals together."[103] A Zaramo "boy," likewise observed that people in Zanzibar were much less ready to help their neighbours if they found them to be in difficulty. [104] Similarly, a Nyassa "boy" said he was eager to return to his homeland because the people there "are not hard-hearted, like the people of Zanzibar, who resemble Pharaoh."[105] Evidently, Madan took some artistic licence when editing these testimonies but they do suggest that ex-slaves, particularly those groomed in mission schools, did not feel at home in the town.

The missionaries took a liking to the idea of returning the ex-slaves to their homelands as missionary teachers or priests. One of the tests the trainee teachers and priests would have to undergo was living in remote areas on the mainland, vaguely according to their origins. These priests and teachers were less likely to make this a permanent move as they struggled to cope amongst the "heathen" of the mainland.[106] Mbweni-educated wives married to mainland Christians were more likely to remain on the mainland, probably due to a relative lack of autonomy, but also possibly because slave status had different implications for

women than for men. Generally, return to one's true homeland was not really an option for an ex-slave. This was not because it was physically impossible to do so. Several oral history interviews suggested – in a rather anguished fashion – that searching for your family was futile because you would only find them to be *washenzi* (primitive). The difference between you and your long-lost kin would be too great to overcome. Thus, the great majority were content to become Zanzibaris. [107]

The overwhelming majority of the elderly Anglicans I encountered in my Zanzibar research had ex-slave elders whom the mission trained to be teachers or priests. In other words, this core group of educated Christians held remarkably strong in Zanzibar, very few of them having mainland connections. They would, by and large, discuss their slave ancestry relatively openly. This is completely at variance with most Zanzibaris, who normally deny any connection to slavery. It is possible that, while the mission may well have played a role in isolating educated Zanzibari Christians, they equally played a part in making slave status easier to talk about. This might be true, but they could not very well have concealed their slave ancestry. Christians have Christians names, and, as a rule, all Christians in Zanzibar are descended from slaves. In contrast, Muslims' origins are likely to be more varied and ambiguous. Another likely interpretation of Christians' willingness to discuss their slave ancestry is that it is a way of justifying their hostility to certain aspects of the societies that surround them. Christians in Zanzibar feel very vulnerable to what they perceive as growing Islamic extremism. This group, descended from the more educated ex-slaves, was, and to some extent still is, an unhappy one struggling to belong. What is certain is that interlocutors who could claim to be ascendants of the very first ex-slave Christians, who were the UMCA's early poster-children and mission loyalists, must have toed a difficult line between admitting to slave ancestry and claiming first-comer status.

Conclusion

This article has confirmed many of the findings that provide the basis for the study of post-slavery societies and the role of Christian missionaries in the ending of slavery and brokering of new respectability. Firstly, town and public life was undoubtedly a popular arena in which slave status could be modified, particularly for men.[108] Secondly, as Glassman and Rossi have shown and theorised, there was a multitude of trajectories and possibilities open to ex-slaves. They were unpredictable, often undesirable, but ex-slaves made their own choices, with their own values and worldviews in mind. Zanzibar Christians and others who were affiliated with the mission took a number of trajectories, none of which were exclusively to self-differentiate or conform. Some distanced themselves from the townspeople and attached themselves to the missionaries, who they believed to be their benevolent patrons. Another trajectory was to move to the town and conform to Muslim, non-Christian cultures. Thirdly, missionaries were not necessarily helpful to ex-slaves in search of a better life. [109] Very often, they simply modified the already existing social stratification that was shaped by slave status. Other times, their impact was simply ephemeral.

I have also put into practice a different approach to trace the life trajectories of ex-slaves. Crucially, I have argued that it was the mission, rather than the missionaries, that provided valuable tools for networking and socialisation for both Christian and non-Christian ex-slaves. The fact that they retained ties to fellow mission ex-slaves, regardless of their religious affiliation and sometimes even in preference to sustaining their allegiance to

missionaries, is very striking. The educated ex-slave Christians, faced different advantages and challenges. On the one hand, they benefitted from their early investment in Western schooling. On the other hand, the stigma attached to them by missionaries and mainland African Christians was disadvantageous. They were marked as more susceptible to sin, because of their estrangement from their "roots". Yet they also had to modify their behaviour in the setting of the Muslim town, towards which they gravitated.

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Woodward. Kiungani, Zanzibar to Child, November 3, 1891. A1 (8), 345. UMArch.

X. Y. Z. "The Lighter Side." *Central Africa*, January 1904.

Yohanna B. Abdallah. Kiungani, Zanzibar to Isobel Hall, January 1894. A5, 19. UMArch.

Mkunazini, July 1884. TC C1, 1. UMArch.

Notes

[1] Weston would later become the Bishop of the Universities' Mission to Central Africa (UMCA).

[2] Frank Weston to H. M., St Mark's College, Zanzibar, (January 20, 1901), A1 (17) A, 90, UMArch.

[3] Ibid.; Ingrams suggests that homosexuality was infrequent in Zanzibar. William Harold Ingrams, *Zanzibar: It's History and It's People* (London: Stacey International, 2007), 492.

[4] Edward Steere to Rev. W. H. Penney, "Present Work of UMCA, 1881," Lady Day 1881, A1 (3) C, 810, UMArch; C. C. Frewer, "Mbweni Village Life as It Is," *Central Africa*, May 1908; One of these "slave boys" was Christened John Swedi, who was the great uncle of Peter Sudi, an interlocutor I met in Zanzibar. Peter Sudi, interview by Irene Mashasi, Mbweni, Zanzibar, September 9, 2014.

[5] Some examples of cases such as these include: "Report Addressed to the Earl of Clarendon by the Committee on the East African Slave Trade," January 1870, TC E30, UMArch; Edward Steere to G. A. Robins, Zanzibar, (July 27, 1878), A1 (3) B, 476, UMArch; J. P. Farler, "The Power of the Gospel," *Central Africa*, September 1887; "Postbag," *Central Africa*, May 1892; K., "Mbweni Incidents," *African Tidings*, January 1893; "Told by Himself. the Story of a Slave Boy," *African Tidings*, January 1893; "A Letter Form the Zanzibar Hospital," *African Tidings*, June 1895; J. P. Farler to Duncan Travers, Mkunazini, Zanzibar, (July 4, 1895), A1 (6) A, 614, UMArch; A. Foxley, "Azubah," *Stories of Africa*, 1902, Copac; A. Foxley, "Panya," *Stories of Africa*, 1902; "The Story of Mary Martha," *African Tidings*, November 1913; Pennell, "A Visit to Kiungani: A Universities' Mission College for Released Slave Boys," n.d., A1 (3) C, 972, UMArch.

[6] Robert W. Strayer, *Making of Mission Communities in East Africa: Anglicans and Africans in Colonial Kenya, 1875-1935* (London: Heinemann, 1978); Paul V. Kollman, *The Evangelization of Slaves and Catholic Origins in Eastern Africa* (Orbis Books, 2005).

[7] Some examples of this rich body of work within and outside the immediate Zanzibar context include: Suzanne Miers and Igor Kopytoff, eds., *Slavery in Africa: Historical and Anthropological Perspectives*, 1977; Benedetta Rossi, ed., *Reconfiguring Slavery: West African Trajectories* (Liverpool: Liverpool University Press, 2009); Paul E. Lovejoy, *Transformations in Slavery: A History of Slavery in Africa* (Cambridge University Press, 2011); William Cunningham Bissell, *Urban Design, Chaos, and Colonial Power in Zanzibar* (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 2011), 37; Elisabeth McMahon, *Slavery and Emancipation in Islamic East Africa: From Honor to Respectability*, African Studies (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2013).

[8] Edward Steere, ed., *The East African Slave Trade, and the Measures Proposed for Its Extinction as Viewed by Residents in Zanzibar* (London, 1871), 31; Captain Philip Howard Colomb, *Slave-Catching in the Indian Ocean: A Record of Naval Experiences* (London: Longmans Green and Co., 1873), 373; Moses D. E. Nwulia, *Britain and Slavery in East Africa* (Three Continents Press, 1975), 67; Frederick Cooper, *Plantation Slavery on the East Coast of Africa* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1977), 161; Laura Fair, *Pastimes and Politics: Culture, Community, and Identity in Post-Abolition Urban Zanzibar, 1890-1945*, Eastern African Studies, 2001, 116–118; Bissell, *Urban Design, Chaos, and Colonial Power in Zanzibar*, 44; Jonathon Glassman, *War of Words, War of Stones: Racial Thought and Violence in Colonial Zanzibar*, 2011, 35–6.

[9] Edward Steere to Rev. W. H. Penney, Zanzibar, (August 23, 1881), 344, A1 (3) A, 338, UMArch.

[10] This resembles the use of the term "Swahili" as a euphemism for someone with slave status, which came relatively late in the 1920s and 1930s. Fair, *Pastimes and Politics: Culture, Community, and Identity in Post-Abolition Urban Zanzibar, 1890-1945*, 35–6.

[11] Michelle Liebst, "African Workers and the Universities' Mission to Central Africa in Zanzibar, 1864–1900," *Journal of Eastern African Studies* 8, no. 3 (July 3, 2014): 366–81, doi:10.1080/17531055.2014.922279.

[12] This was also the case on the mainland. See for example, Felicitas Becker, "Transformations of Inequality in a Former Slave Plantation Settlement: Mingoyo, Tanzania" 2015.

[13] Ingrams, *Zanzibar*, 35–6.

[14] Miers and Kopytoff, *Slavery in Africa: Historical and Anthropological Perspectives*.

[15] Colomb, *Slave-Catching in the Indian Ocean*, 373.

[16] Rossi, *Reconfiguring Slavery: West African Trajectories*, 17.

[17] Jonathon Glassman, *Feasts and Riot: Revelry, Rebellion, and Popular Consciousness on the Swahili Coast, 1856-1888*, Social History of Africa (Portsmouth, NH: London: Nairobi: Dar es Salaam: Heinemann; James Currey; EAEP; Mkuki Na Nyota, 1995), 113; See for mainland comparisons: Becker (southeast Tanzania) and Nimtz (Bagamoyo). These authors both show how Sufi orders facilitated the integration of ex-slaves into Muslim communities. Felicitas Becker, "A Social History of Southeast Tanzania, Ca. 1890-1950" (University of Cambridge, 2001), British Library and University Library Cambridge; August H. Nimtz, *Islam and Politics in East Africa: The Sufi Order in Tanzania* (U of Minnesota Press, 1980).
[18] Roland Oliver, *Missionary Factor in East Africa*, 2nd ed (London: Longmans, Green, 1965).
[19] David Maxwell, "Ex-slaves, Missionaries, and Respectability: The Expansion of the Christian Frontier from Angola to Belgian Congo," *Journal of African History* 54, no. 1 (2013): 79–102.
[20] Kollman, *The Evangelization of Slaves and Catholic Origins in Eastern Africa*, xv–xviii.
[21] Brenner provides an additional example of this view in his West African study. Louis Brenner, *Controlling Knowledge: Religion, Power, and Schooling in a West African Muslim Society* (Indiana University Press, 2001), http://quod.lib.umich.edu/cgi/t/text/text-idx?c=acls;idno=heb02567.
[22] Jeremy Prestholdt, *Domesticating the World: African Consumerism and the Genealogies of Globalization* (University of California Press, 2008), 125, 132–3, 134–5.
[23] Glassman, *Feasts and Riot*.
[24] Still, it seems that Ng'ambo had long been an important residential area. This French explorer and Navy Captain observed in his mid-century visits that slaves dominated the area: Charles Guillain and A. Bayot, *Voyage à la côte orientale d'Afrique: exécuté pendant les années 1846, 1847 et 1848 par le brick le Ducouëdic, sous le commandement de M. Guillain* (Paris : A. Bertrand, 1856), http://archive.org/details/VoyageaYlacoYteAtlaBayo; UMCA missionaries made similar observations in the 1870s and 1880s: Rev. F. R. Hodgson to R. M. Heanley, "A Journey from Zanzibar to Magila," May 16, 1871, A1 (4) A, 7, UMArch; H. W. Woodward, "Our African Postbag," *Central Africa*, December 1883; May Allen, "Women's Work in Zanzibar," *Central Africa*, July 1886.
[25] Fair, *Pastimes and Politics: Culture, Community, and Identity in Post-Abolition Urban Zanzibar, 1890-1945*, 15–16.
[26] Indeed, leading studies have already shown that missionaries and African Christians, especially those of ex-slave-stock, did not share the same ideas about respectability and honour. Kollman, *The Evangelization of Slaves and Catholic Origins in Eastern Africa*; John Iliffe, *Honour in African History* (Cambridge University Press, 2005), 246; McMahon, *Slavery and Emancipation in Islamic East Africa: From Honor to Respectability*; Maxwell, "Freed Slaves, Missionaries, and Respectability: The Expansion of the Christian Frontier from Angola to Belgian Congo."
[27] Bissell, *Urban Design, Chaos, and Colonial Power in Zanzibar*, 44.
[28] A. E. M. Anderson-Morshead, *The History of the Universities' Mission to Central Africa, 1859-1909* (London: Universities' Mission to Central Africa, 1909), 350.
[29] Frank Weston to H. M., St Mark's Theological College, Zanzibar, (December 9, 1899), A1 (17) A, 53, UMArch.
[30] C. C. Frewer, "Industrial Work in Zanzibar and Pemba," *Central Africa*, April 1905.
[31] H. Maynard Smith, "Memories of Bishop Weston, (Universal Exercise Book)" (Zanzibar, n.d.), A1 (17) A, 456, UMArch; Malcolm Mackay, Samuel Sehoza, and C. S. P., "Recollections of Frank Weston" n.d., A1 (17) A, 455, UMArch; George Herbert Wilson,

The History of the Universities' Mission to Central Africa (London: Universities' Mission to Central Africa, 1936), 158.
[32] Edward Steere to Admiral, Zanzibar (private), (1880), A1 (3) A, 417 and A1 (3) B, 602 (copy), UMArch.
[33] It was not illegal to build in stone in Ng'ambo but rent laws passed in the late 1920s made it financially prohibitive: Lawrence D. Berg and Jani Vuolteenaho, *Critical Toponymies: The Contested Politics of Place Naming* (Ashgate Publishing, Ltd., 2009), 87–8; Henry Vaughan Lanchester, *Zanzibar: A Study in Tropical Town Planning* (Ed. J. Burrow, 1923), 54; Fair, *Pastimes and Politics: Culture, Community, and Identity in Post-Abolition Urban Zanzibar, 1890-1945*, 199; Bissell complicates the colonial impression of this stark divide between the town proper and Ng'ambo: Bissell, *Urban Design, Chaos, and Colonial Power in Zanzibar*, 61–65.
[34] Fair, *Pastimes and Politics: Culture, Community, and Identity in Post-Abolition Urban Zanzibar, 1890-1945*, 110; Bissell, *Urban Design, Chaos, and Colonial Power in Zanzibar*, 181.
[35] Fair, *Pastimes and Politics: Culture, Community, and Identity in Post-Abolition Urban Zanzibar, 1890-1945*, 15–16.
[36] Walter K. Firminger, "The Ng'ambo Experiment" June 4, 1895, A1 (8), 469, UMArch; V. H. P., "The Other Side: Ng'ambo," *Central Africa: A Monthly Record of the Universities' Mission to Central Africa*, February 1920; Fair, *Pastimes and Politics: Culture, Community, and Identity in Post-Abolition Urban Zanzibar, 1890-1945*, 20.
[37] Rev. Edward Steere to Ann Steere, Zanzibar, (April 1865), A1 (3) A, 16, UMArch; "Child Life in the Mission," *Central Africa*, March 1883; Mr. Lister, "Industrial Work at Mkunazini," *Central Africa*, January 1894, For some examples of missionaries being seen as cannibalism, see:
[38] May Allen, "Women's Work in Zanzibar."
[39] By 1881 there were about 100 Christians living in the town. Edward Steere to Rev. W. H. Penney, "Present Work of UMCA, 1881"; M. A. Cameron, "Round about the Cathedral," *African Tidings*, April 1896.
[40] It was said that these educated ex-slaves to procure a slave once they married. Rev. W. F. Capel to Edward Steere, Mbweni, Zanzibar, (January 1877), A1 (4) A, 60, UMArch.
[41] Edward Steere, Zanzibar, (August 22, 1881), A1 (3) A, 422, UMArch.
[42] A. E. M. Anderson-Morshead, *The History of the Universities' Mission to Central Africa 1859-1896* (Universities Mission to Central Africa, 1897), 282–3.
[43] "Annual Report, a Review of the Work of the Mission in 1922: II. Diocese of Zanzibar," *Central Africa*, May 1923.
[44] Sir John Kirk, "Report on an Experiment to Look after Ex-slaves," September 1871, TC E30, UMArch; Edward Steere, "Bishop Steere's Mission at Zanzibar and to Central Africa," 1875, A1 (3) A, 4, UMArch.
[45] Edward Steere to Rev. W. H. Penney, "Present Work of UMCA, 1881."
[46] J. P. Farler wrote, "I fear the whole state of morality of Mbweni is at a fearfully low ebb" after he banished the wife of Peter Sudi for "going out to men's houses outside the shamba every night." J. P. Farler to Rev. W. H. Penney, Kiungani, Zanzibar, (August 31, 1885), A1 (6) A, 572, UMArch.
[47] Ibid.; *The Universities' Mission to Central Africa Atlas* (London: Universities Mission to Central Africa, 1903).
[48] Mkunazini, (July 1884), TC C1, 1, UMArch; May Allen to Miss Randolph, Zanzibar, (August 11, 1884), A1 (4) A, 680, UMArch.

[49] Steere defined "kiungani" as "near the town, in the suburbs," derived from "kiunga," meaning "suburb." Edward Steere and Arthur Cornwallis Madan, *A handbook of the Swahili language, as spoken at Zanzibar* (London Society for promoting Christian knowledge, 1894), 63, http://archive.org/details/handbookofswahil00steeuoft.
[50] William George Tozer (UMCA Bishop 1863-1872) initiated the system of adopting and training ex-slaves that was kept in place until Smythies' episcopate (1884-1894). Edward Steere to John Wogan Festing, Zanzibar, (August 7, 1872), A1 (3) A, 81, UMArch; Edward Steere to John Wogan Festing, Zanzibar, (February 24, 1873), A1 (3) A, 85, UMArch; Edward Steere to John Wogan Festing, Zanzibar, (December 15, 1872), A1 (3) A, 74, UMArch; Bishop Edward Steere to John Wogan Festing, March 5, 1878, A1 (3) B, 461, UMArch; Edward Steere, *Central African Mission, Its Present State and Prospects* (London, 1873), 16–17; Bishop Charles Alan Smythies, "A Letter from the Bishop," *Central Africa*, September 1885; "The Ordination to the Priesthood of the Rev P. Limo," *Central Africa*, May 1894; W. King and Frank Weston, "St. Andrew's College, Kiungani," *Central Africa*, December 1899; Frank Weston, "Our Zanzibar Burden," *Central Africa*, November 1906; Justin Willis reveals how the missionaries' assumption that all mainland children were "free" was deeply flawed as most, at least initially, entered the mission through pawnship. Justin Willis, "The Nature of a Mission Community: The Universities' Mission to Central Africa in Bonde," *Past & Present*, no. 140 (August 1, 1993): 127–54.
[51] J. D., "Schoolboys in Zanzibar," *African Tidings*, December 1892.
[52] Edward Steere to G. A. Robins, July 27, 1878; Farler to Penney, Zanzibar, (September 12, 1884), TC C1, UMArch.
[53] Godfrey Dale to Duncan Travers, Mkuzi, (1894), A1 (8), 445-6, UMArch.
[54] A. F., "Mbweni Girls in Pemba," *African Tidings*, March 1904; C. C. Frewer, "Industrial Work in Zanzibar and Pemba."
[55] Margaret's grandparents were among these ex-slaves, but they eventually returned to Zanzibar. Margaret Victoria Juma Sudi, interview by Irene Mashasi, Kisiwandui, Zanzibar, December 9, 2014; Emily Key, "Pemba," *Central Africa*, April 1899; Emily Key, "From Pemba to Zanzibar," *Central Africa*, September 1898; Morgan Robinson, "Cutting Pice and Running Away : Discipline, Education and Choice at the UMCA Boys' Industrial House, Zanzibar, 1901-1905," 2013.
[56] Robinson, "Cutting Pice and Running Away."
[57] C. C. Frewer, "The Native of Zanzibar and Pemba," *Central Africa*, February 1907; C. C. Frewer, "Mbweni Village Life as It Is."
[58] Steere and Madan, *A handbook of the Swahili language, as spoken at Zanzibar*, 340; C. C. Frewer, "The Native of Zanzibar and Pemba"; Carol Eastman, "Service, 'Slavery' (utumwa) and Swahili Social Reality," *AAP*, no. 37 (1994): 88.
[59] Ada Sharpe, "The Aged and Invalid People of Mbweni," *Central Africa*, March 1898; Ada Sharpe, "Sick and Poor at Mbweni," *Central Africa*, May 1900; Edward Steere to G. A. Robins, July 27, 1878.
[60] Peter Sudi, interview; "Church Land Dispute Leads to Riot in Zanzibar," *Conger*, January 7, 2011, https://geoconger.wordpress.com/2011/01/12/church-land-dispute-leads-to-riot-in-zanzibar-the-church-of-england-newspaper-jan-7-2011/.
[61] Rev. F. R. Hodgson to Rev. W. H. Penney, Mbweni, Zanzibar (private), (December 1880), A1 (4) A, 330, UMArch; Henry Rowley, *Twenty Years in Central Africa: Being the Story of the Universities' Mission to Central Africa, from Its Commencement under Bishop Mackenzie to the Present Time* (London: W. Gardner, Darton, 1881), 226.
[62] Maia Green, *The Development State: Aid, Culture & Civil Society in Tanzania*, 2014, 159.

[63] John Hanning Speke, *Journal of the Discovery of the Source of the Nile*, Second Edition (Edinburgh; London: W. Blackwood and sons, 1864), xxviii; Many missionaries disliked the idea of the young men being groomed for the African clergy partaking in such activities. If they showed any urge for this missionaries would incentivise them with gifts and relocate them to another mission station. J. P. Farler had a different outlook, believing it would toughen them up. J. P. Farler to Penney, Kiungani, Zanzibar, (St Michael's Day 1884), A1 (6) B, 439, UMArch.
[64] Edward Steere to G. A. Robins, July 27, 1878.
[65] May Allen to R. M. Heanley, Mkunazini, Zanzibar, (July 1877), A1 (4) A, 171, UMArch.
[66] John Mhina, Part 2, interview by Zuhura Mohammed, Magila, October 17, 2014, 01:22.
[67] C. C. Frewer, "Industrial Work in Zanzibar and Pemba."
[68] C. D. M. Thackeray, "Work amongst the Mbweni Girls," *Central Africa*, June 1897; X. Y. Z., "The Lighter Side," *Central Africa*, January 1904; Frank Weston, "A Letter from the Bishop of Zanzibar," *Central Africa*, August 1909.
[69] C. C. Frewer, "Industrial Work in Zanzibar and Pemba."
[70] Woodward to Child, Kiungani, Zanzibar, (November 3, 1891), A1 (8), 345, UMArch; Durham Kaleza (Selemani), interview by Irene Mashasi, Kwa Alinato, Ng'ambo, Zanzibar, October 9, 2014; Elke E. Stockreiter, *Islamic Law, Gender, and Social Change in Post-Abolition Zanzibar* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2015), 93, http://ebooks.cambridge.org/ref/id/CBO9781107261440.
[71] James Christie, *Cholera Epidemics in East Africa, from 1821 till 1872* (London, 1876), 316.
[72] Glassman, *Feasts and Riot*, 106–109; Bishop Edward Steere, *Collections for a Handbook of the Nyamwezi Language: As Spoken at Unyanyembe* (London: Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge, 1885); R. G. Abrahams, *The Nyamwezi Today: A Tanzanian People in the 1970s* (CUP Archive, 1981), 2–3.
[73] In this letter from a freed slave boy it is notable that he conceals his Nyamwezi origin. Philemon Juma, "Letters from Africa (translation)," *African Tidings*, 1887; Steere, *Collections for a Handbook of the Nyamwezi Language: As Spoken at Unyanyembe*, 3–6; Ingrams accounted for their poor reputation with the fact that by the 1920s many Zanzibar Christians seem to have been Wanywamwezi. Ingrams, *Zanzibar*, 223; Abrahams, *The Nyamwezi Today*.
[74] Allen to Randolph, August 11, 1884.
[75] Percy L. Jones-Bateman, "What Becomes of Your Mission Boys When They Leave You?," *Central Africa*, 1890; Other evidence suggests Jones-Bateman's survey may have been overly optimistic. Indeed, Sir Arthur Henry Hardinge (Colonial Head for the British East Africa Protectorate) claimed that after leaving the mission school, the only ex-slaves who remained Christians were those who had positions in government service and administration. "Our Thirty-Eighth Anniversary."
[76] Some of my interviews took place in Kwa Alinato. It is worth noting that one of the Anglican interlocutors, John Selemani, mentioned he had run in the election to become a council representative. He was unsuccessful and he believed this was to do with his religion. However, he added that Kwa Alinato was generally less hostile towards Christians than other areas. John Selemani, interview by Irene Mashasi, Kwa Alinato, Zanzibar, September 14, 2014; Durham Kaleza (Selemani), interview; Sylvester Tayari, interview by Irene Mashasi, Kwa Alinato, Ng'ambo, Zanzibar, September 16, 2014; For a brief history of Ali Nathoo, who arrived in Zanzibar in 1886, see: Abdulrazak Sheriff Fazal, *My Zanzibar Recollections* (Dar es Salaam, n.d.), 31.

[77] Failing to partake in drinking would have suggested a lack of generosity on mainland Tanzania. This is represented in the Swahili word for "to pay tribute" – "kushikana" – which literally means "to hold each other." Derek R. Peterson, *Ethnic Patriotism and the East African Revival: A History of Dissent, C.1935-1972* (Cambridge University Press, 2012), 122; J. P. Farler to Rev. Cecil Deecles, Magila, Tanga, (February 20, 1877), A1 (6) A, 413, UMArch.
[78] Edward Steere to Festing, February 24, 1873; Mr. Lister, "Industrial Work at Mkunazini"; Farler to Travers, July 4, 1895; "Home Jottings," *Central Africa*, March 1899.
[79] Sylvester Tayari, interview, 01:00.
[80] Buibui is piece of black cloth worn as a shawl, usually by Muslim women.
[81] Kofia, meaning "hat" in Swahili, more specifically refers to a brimless cylindrical cap with a flat crown, worn by men in East Africa, especially Swahili-speaking cultures. Nasoro Tajiri Ali, interview by Irene Mashasi, Zanzibar, December 9, 2014; Margaret Victoria Juma Sudi, interview; Francis Wakati, interview by Irene Mashasi, St. Monica's, Mkunzani, Zanzibar, December 9, 2014; Esther Musa, interview by Irene Mashasi, Mbweni, Zanzibar, November 10, 2014; Durham Kaleza (Selemani), interview; William Kamna, interview by Michelle Liebst, Kisarawe, Pwani, Dar es Salaam, September 23, 2014; Tereza Mwakanjuki, interview by Irene Mashasi, Magholofani, Zanzibar, September 19, 2014; Jane Sudi (Sefu), interview by Irene Mashasi, Mbweni, Zanzibar, September 19, 2014; Sylvester Tayari, interview; Peter Sudi, interview; John Ramadhani, interview by Michelle Liebst, Bishop's residence, Mkunazini, Zanzibar, August 9, 2014; Al Haji Ahmed Limo, interview by Irene Mashasi, Kisiwandui, Zanzibar, March 9, 2014.
[82] Sylvester Tayari, interview; Tereza Mwakanjuki, interview.
[83] Erasto A. M. Mangenya, *Discipline and Tears: Reminiscences of an African Civil Servant on Colonial Tanganyika* (Dar es Salaam: Dar es Salaam University Press, 1984), 2, 118–119; John Ramadhani, interview.
[84] J. W. T., "Mohammedan and Christian," *Central Africa*, September 1900.
[85] "Our Thirty-Eighth Anniversary."
[86] Chauncy Maples and Ellen Gilbert Maples Cook, *Journals and Papers of Chauncy Maples: Late Bishop of Likoma, Lake Nyasa, Africa*, 1899, 216; John Mhina, Part 2, 01:22.
[87] "Our African Postbag," *Central Africa*, January 1884.
[88] Mr. Geldart, "Boys at Umba," *African Tidings*, October 1885.
[89] Godfrey Dale to Duncan Travers, Kiungani, Zanzibar, (November 15, 1895), A1 (8), 241-2, UMArch.
[90] Godfrey Dale to Duncan Travers, Kiungani, Zanzibar, (August 1895), A1 (8), 481, UMArch.
[91] *The Universities' Mission to Central Africa Atlas*.
[92] Dale to Travers, August 1895.
[93] John Mhina, Part 2, 01:18–22.
[94] Anonymous, interview by Zuhura Mohammed, Magila, October 15, 2014.
[95] Ingrams, *Zanzibar*, 346.
[96] Dale to Travers, 1894; J. P. Farler to Duncan Travers, Mkunazini, Zanzibar, (October 23, 1896), A1 (6) A, 638, UMArch.
[97] R. M. Heanley, *A Memoir of Edward Steere: Third Missionary Bishop in Central Africa*, Third edition revised. (London: Office of the Universities' Mission to Central Africa, 1898), 290, https://archive.org/details/amemoiredwardst00heangoog; Gertrude Ward, "Mission Life in Africa," *Central Africa*, April 1903; Frank Weston to H. M., Kiungani, Zanzibar, (December 25, 1903), A1 (17) A, 165, UMArch; Frank Weston to H. M., Kiungani, Zanzibar, (November 12, 1909), A1 (17) A, 131, UMArch.

[98] Dale to Travers, 1894.
[99] Ibid.
[100] Edward Steere to Festing, February 24, 1873.
[101] "Native Lads Preparing for Ordination," *African Tidings*, 1888.
[102] H. Maynard Smith, *Frank, Bishop of Zanzibar: Life of Frank Weston, 1871-1924* (London: Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge, 1926), chapter x, part II.
[103] A. C. Madan, ed., *Kiungani, Or, Story and History from Central Africa* (London: G. Bell and Sons, 1887), 55.
[104] Ibid., 63.
[105] "Child Life in the Mission."
[106] Cecil Majaliwa, Chitangali, (August 1895), A5, 25, UMArch; Yohanna B. Abdallah to Isobel Hall, Kiungani, Zanzibar, (January 1894), A5, 19, UMArch.
[107] Sylvester Tayari, interview; Margaret Victoria Juma Sudi, interview; Francis Wakati, interview.
[108] Fair, *Pastimes and Politics: Culture, Community, and Identity in Post-Abolition Urban Zanzibar, 1890-1945*; Bissell, *Urban Design, Chaos, and Colonial Power in Zanzibar*.
[109] Kollman, *The Evangelization of Slaves and Catholic Origins in Eastern Africa*; Maxwell, "Freed Slaves, Missionaries, and Respectability: The Expansion of the Christian Frontier from Angola to Belgian Congo"; McMahon, *Slavery and Emancipation in Islamic East Africa: From Honor to Respectability*.